

1. Kennedy to Khrushchev 22 Oct. ✓
Moscow 961, Eyes Only, Elite 21 Oct.
2. Khrushchev to Kennedy 23 Oct. ✓
Moscow 1042, Eyes Only, Elite 23 Oct.
3. Kennedy to Khrushchev 23 Oct. 1962 ✓
Action Moscow 985, Eyes Only, 23 Oct. ✓
4. Khrushchev to Kennedy 24 Oct. ✓
Moscow 1010, Eyes Only, 25 Oct. ✓
5. Kennedy to Khrushchev 25 Oct. ✓
Action Moscow 997, 25 Oct.
6. Khrushchev to Kennedy 26 Oct. ✓
Moscow 1101, Eyes Only, 25 Oct.
7. Kennedy to Khrushchev, reply to Broadcast
Action Moscow 1020, Eyes Only, 28 Oct.

SECRET

NON-CIA TELETYPE MESSAGE

OCT 24 17 40 36Z

LOGS

PCC184QA67/24 OCT

PP RUEICR

DE RUEHCR 1974R

P 241625Z ZEA

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO CIA

STATE GRNC

BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L

FOLLOWING REPEATED YOU:

QUOTE

ACTION MOSCOW NIACT 961, OCTOBER 21, 7PM FROM STATE

ELITE

EYES ONLY FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY

THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT SHOULD BE DELIVERED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE FOR TRANSMISSION TO KHRUSCHEV ONE HOUR BEFORE THE DELIVERY OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH, NOW SCHEDULED FOR MONDAY, TWENTY-SECOND AT 7:00 P.M. WASHINGTON TIME.

" - SIR:

THERE IS ATTACHED A COPY OF THE STATEMENT I AM MAKING TONIGHT CONCERNING DEVELOPMENTS IN CUBA AND THE REACTION OF MY GOVERNMENT THERETO. A COPY OF THIS STATEMENT HAS ALREADY BEEN HANDED TO YOUR

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CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

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IN _____ PAGE _____

AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON. IN VIEW OF THE GRAVITY OF THE DEVELOPMENTS TO WHICH I REFER, I WANT YOU TO KNOW IMMEDIATELY AND ACCURATELY THE POSITION OF MY GOVERNMENT IN THIS MATTER.

IN OUR DISCUSSIONS AND EXCHANGES ON BERLIN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS, THE ONE THING THAT HAS MOST CONCERNED ME HAS BEEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT CORRECTLY UNDERSTAND THE WILL AND DETERMINATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN ANY GIVEN SITUATION, SINCE I HAVE NOT ASSUMED THAT YOU OR ANY OTHER SANE MAN WOULD, IN THIS NUCLEAR AGE, DELIBERATELY PLUNGE THE WORLD INTO WAR WHICH IT IS CRYSTAL CLEAR NO COUNTRY COULD WIN AND WHICH COULD ONLY RESULT IN CATASTROPHIC CONSEQUENCES TO THE WHOLE WORLD, INCLUDING THE AGGRESSOR.

AT OUR MEETING IN VIENNA AND SUBSEQUENTLY, I EXPRESSED OUR READINESS AND DESIRE TO FIND, THROUGH PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION, A SOLUTION TO ANY AND ALL PROBLEMS THAT DIVIDE US. AT THE SAME TIME, I MADE CLEAR THAT IN VIEW OF THE OBJECTIVES OF THE IDEOLOGY TO WHICH YOU ADHERE, THE UNITED STATES COULD NOT TOLERATE ANY ACTION ON YOUR PART WHICH IN A MAJOR WAY DISTURBED THE EXISTING OVER-ALL BALANCE OF POWER IN THE WORLD. I STATED THAN AN ATTEMPT TO FORCE ABANDONMENT OF OUR RESPONSIBILITIES AND COMMITMENTS IN BERLIN WOULD CONSTITUTE SUCH AN ACTION AND THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD RESIST WITH ALL THE POWER AT ITS COMMAND.

IT WAS IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY INCORRECT ASSESSMENT ON THE PART OF YOUR GOVERNMENT WITH RESPECT TO CUBA THAT I PUBLICLY STATED THAT IF CERTAIN DEVELOPMENTS IN CUBA TOOK PLACE, THE UNITED STATES WOULD DO WHATEVER MUST BE DONE TO PROTECT ITS OWN SECURITY AND THAT OF ITS ALLIES. MOREOVER, THE CONGRESS ADOPTED A RESOLUTION EXPRESSING ITS SUPPORT OF THIS DECLARED

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PAGE

POLICY. DESPITE THIS, THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF LONG-RANGE MISSILE BASES AND OTHER OFFENSIVE WEAPONS SYSTEMS IN CUBA HAS PROCEEDED. I MUST TELL YOU THAT THE UNITED STATES IS DETERMINED ^{THAT THIS THREAT} ~~TO REMOVE THIS THREAT~~ ^{BE REMOVED.} TO THE SECURITY OF THIS HEMISPHERE. AT THE SAME TIME, I WISH TO POINT OUT THAT THE ACTION WE ARE TAKING IS THE MINIMUM NECESSARY TO REMOVE THE THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF THE NATIONS OF THIS HEMISPHERE. THE FACT OF THIS MINIMUM RESPONSE SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN AS A BASIS, HOWEVER, FOR ANY MISJUDGEMENT ON YOUR PART.

I HOPE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTION WHICH WOULD WIDEN OR DEEPEN THIS ALREADY GRAVE CRISIS AND THAT WE CAN AGREE TO RESUME THE PATH OF PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION."

YOUR WILL BE NOTIFIED SHOULD THERE BE ANY CHANGE IN THIS SCHEDULE OR TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT. TEXT STATEMENT IN SEPTTEL. IF TEXT NOT RECEIVED IN TIME, DELIVER LETTER AND ADVISE FOREIGN OFFICE IT WILL FOLLOW.

ALL MESSAGES CONCERNING THIS SUBJECT MUST BEAR THE CAPTION 'ELITE' IMMEDIATELY BEFORE ANY OTHER PERTINENT CAPTION.

SIGNED RUSK
UNQUOTE

SECRET

Cia

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

SECRET

32

SECRET

Action

Control: 17195

Rec'd: OCTOBER 23, 1962

11:56 AM

SS

Info

FROM: MOSCOW

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1042, OCTOBER 23, 5 PM

NIACT

ELITE

POLICY

EYES ONLY

EMBTel 1041

EMBASSY TRANSLATION FOLLOWS OF KHRUSHCHEV'S LETTER OF OCTOBER 23 TO PRESIDENT. KUZNETSOV INFORMED ME LETTER WOULD NOT BE PUBLISHED "FOR TIME BEING."

BEGIN TEXT. MR. PRESIDENT.

I HAVE JUST RECEIVED YOUR LETTER, AND HAVE ALSO ACQUAINTED MYSELF WITH TEXT OF YOUR SPEECH OF OCTOBER 22 REGARDING CUBA.

I SHOULD SAY FRANKLY THAT MEASURES OUTLINED IN YOUR STATEMENT REPRESENT SERIOUS THREAT TO PEACE AND SECURITY OF PEOPLES. UNITED STATES HAS OPENLY TAKEN PATH OF GROSS VIOLATION OF CHARTER OF UNITED NATIONS, PATH OF VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL NORMS OF FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION ON HIGH SEAS, PATH OF AGGRESSIVE ACTIONS BOTH AGAINST CUBA AND AGAINST SOVIET UNION.

STATEMENT OF GOVERNMENT OF UNITED STATES AMERICA CANNOT BE EVALUATED IN ANY OTHER WAY THAN AS NAKED INTERFERENCE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF CUBAN REPUBLIC, SOVIET UNION, AND OTHER STATES. CHARTER OF UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL NORMS DO NOT GIVE RIGHT TO

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-2- 1042, OCTOBER 23, 5 PM FROM MOSCOW

ANY STATE WHATSOEVER TO ESTABLISH IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS CONTROL OF VESSELS BOUND FOR SHORES OF CUBAN REPUBLIC.

IT IS SELF-UNDERSTOOD THAT WE ALSO CANNOT RECOGNIZE RIGHT OF UNITED STATES TO ESTABLISH CONTROL OVER ARMAMENTS ESSENTIAL TO REPUBLIC OF CUBA FOR STRENGTHENING OF ITS DEFENSIVE CAPACITY.

WE CONFIRM THAT ARMAMENTS NOW ON CUBA, REGARDLESS OF CLASSIFICATION TO WHICH THEY BELONG, ARE DESTINED EXCLUSIVELY FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES, IN ORDER TO SECURE CUBAN REPUBLIC FROM ATTACK OF AGGRESSOR.

I HOPE THAT GOVERNMENT OF UNITED STATES WILL SHOW PRUDENCE AND RENOUNCE ACTIONS PURSUED BY YOU, WHICH COULD LEAD TO CATASTROPHIC CONSEQUENCES FOR PEACE THROUGHOUT WORLD.

VIEWPOINT OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO YOUR STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 22 IS SET FORTH IN STATEMENT OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS BEING CONVEYED TO YOU THROUGH YOUR AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW.

/S/ N. KHRUSHCHEV. END TEXT.

ORIGINAL OF LETTER BEING AIRPOUCHED TODAY.

KOHLER

DT

NOTE: PASSED WHITE HOUSE 10/23/62 11:05 AM WVC

SECRET

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL

M

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy MOSCOW 985 RIAGT

SS

Info:

STES ONLY

You should deliver following letter addressed by the President to Chairman Khrushchev immediately. This replaces message contained Deptel 982.

QUOTE

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have received your letter of October twenty-third. I think you will recognize that the steps which started the current chain of events was the action of your Government in secretly furnishing offensive weapons to Cuba. We will be discussing this matter in the Security Council. In the meantime, I am concerned that we both show prudence and do nothing to allow events to make the situation more difficult to control than it already is.

I hope

Drafted by:

U.S. Call:hc 10/23/62

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

George H. Ball

Clearances:

White House - Mr. Bundy
S/S - Mr. Bruback

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CONFIDENTIAL

FORM
5-61 DS-322

CONFIDENTIAL

I hope that you will issue immediately the necessary instructions to your ships to observe the terms of the quarantine, the basis of which was established by the vote of the Organization of American States this afternoon, and which will go into effect at 1400 hours Greenwich time October twenty-four.

Sincerely,

JFK

UNQUOTE

RUSK

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

NON-CIA TELETYPE MESSAGE

OCT 25 05 00:32

16-2500

LOGS

OPERATIONAL IMMEDIATE

PCA029

(88)

QA 17 OCT 25

HERE IS THE CORRECTED MOSCOW NOTE

OO RUEIB

DE RUEHCR 17952

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO CIA

STATE GRNC

BT

S E C R E T

1010 OCT 25, 11 PM FROM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW SIGNED KOHLER

EYES ONLY

POLICY

FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY'S TRANSLATION LETTER FROM KHRUSHCHEV
TO PRESIDENT RECEIVED BY MESSENGER FROM FOREIGN OFFICE AT

11:30 P. M. MOSCOW TIME.

BEGIN TEXT

1N415594

1000

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DDP
DDP
AOP
CS/RF
ADCI
AD/NE
CISR
C/TFW
3- DDP/SIT
VMR
FILE

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CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

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IN 45594 PAGE 2

TO THE PRESIDENT:

I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR LETTER OF OCTOBER 23, FAMILIARIZED MYSELF WITH IT AND AM ANSWERING YOU.

IMAGINE, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT WE HAD POSED TO YOU THOSE ULTIMATIVE CONDITIONS WHICH YOU HAVE POSED TO US BY YOUR ACTION. HOW WOULD YOU HAVE REACTED TO THIS? I THINK THAT YOU WOULD HAVE BEEN INDIGNANT AT SUCH A STEP ON OUR PART. AND THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN COMPREHENSIBLE TO US.

HAVING POSED THESE CONDITIONS TO US, YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, HAVE CHALLENGED US. WHO ASKED YOU TO DO THIS? BY WHAT RIGHT HAVE YOU DONE THIS? OUR RELATIONS WITH THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA, LIKE OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER STATES, REGARDLESS OF WHAT SORT OF STATE IT MAY BE, CONCERN ONLY THE TWO COUNTRIES BETWEEN WHICH THOSE RELATIONS EXIST, AND IF ONE IS REALLY GOING TO TALK ABOUT A QUARANTINE, REFERRED TO IN YOUR LETTER, IT CAN BE ESTABLISHED, ACCORDING TO ACCEPTED INTERNATIONAL PRACTICE, ONLY BY THE AGREEMENT OF STATES BETWEEN THEMSELVES, AND NOT BY ANY SORT OF THIRD PARTY. THERE EXIST, FOR EXAMPLE, QUARANTINES ON AGRICULTURAL GOODS AND PRODUCTS. BUT IN THE CASE AT HAND, THE QUESTION IS IN NO WAY ONE OF QUARANTINE, BUT RATHER OF FAR MORE SERIOUS THINGS, AND YOU YOURSELF UNDERSTAND THIS.

YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, ARE NOT DECLARING QUARANTINES, BUT ADVANCING AN ULTIMATUM AND THREATENING THAT UNLESS WE SUBORDINATE OURSELVES TO YOUR DEMANDS, YOU WILL USE FORCE. CONSIDER WHAT YOU ARE SAYING! AND YOU WISH TO CONVINCE ME TO AGREE TO THIS! WHAT DOES AGREEMENT WITH SUCH DEMANDS MEAN? THIS WOULD MEAN TO GUIDE ONESELF IN ONE'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

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NOT BY REASON BUT TO INDULGE ARBITRARINESS. YOU ARE NO LONGER
APPEALING TO REASON, BUT WISH TO INTIMIDATE US.

NO, MR PRESIDENT, I CANNOT AGREE WITH THIS AND THINK THAT IN
YOUR HEART YOU RECOGNIZE THAT I AM CORRECT. I AM CONVINCED
THAT IN MY PLACE YOU WOULD ACT THE SAME WAY.

REFERENCE TO THE DECISION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES
CANNOT IN ANY WAY SUBSTANTIATE THE DEMANDS NOW ADVANCED BY THE
UNITED STATES. THIS ORGANIZATION HAS ABSOLUTELY NO AUTHORITY OR BASIS TO
TAKE DECISIONS LIKE THAT OF WHICH YOU SPEAK IN YOUR LETTER.

CONSEQUENTLY, WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE THESE DECISIONS. INTERNATIONAL
LAW EXISTS, GENERALLY RECOGNIZED NORMS OF CONDUCT EXIST.

WE FIRMLY SUPPORT THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, STRICTLY
OBSERVE THE NORMS REGULATING NAVIGATION ON THE HIGH SEAS AND
IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS. WE OBSERVE THESE NORMS AND ENJOY
THE RIGHTS RECOGNIZED BY ALL STATES.

YOU WISH TO COMPEL US TO RENOUNCE THE RIGHTS THAT EVERY
SOVEREIGN STATE ENJOYS, YOU ARE ATTEMPTING TO LEGISLATE IN
QUESTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, YOU ARE TRAMPLING UPON THE
GENERALLY ACCEPTED NORMS OF THIS LAW. AND ALL THIS NOT ONLY
OUT OF HATRED FOR THE CUBAN PEOPLE AND ITS GOVERNMENT, BUT ALSO
AS A RESULT OF CONSIDERATIONS OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN THE
USA. WHAT MORALITY, WHAT LAW CAN JUSTIFY SUCH AN APPROACH
BY THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS? YOU
CANNOT FIND SUCH A MORALITY AND SUCH A LAW, BECAUSE THE ACTIONS
OF THE USA WITH REGARD TO CUBA ARE OUTRIGHT BANDITRY, OR,
IF YOU LIKE, THE FOLLY OF DEGENERATE IMPERIALISM. UNFORTUNATELY,
THE PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES, AND NOT LEAST OF ALL THE AMERICAN

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IN 45594 PAGE 4

PEOPLE ITSELF, CAN SUFFER GRAVELY FROM SUCH FOLLY, SINCE THE USA HAS FULLY LOST ITS FORMER INACCESSABILITY WITH THE ADVENT OF CONTEMPORARY TYPES OF ARMAMENT.

CONSEQUENTLY, MR. PRESIDENT, IF YOU COOLY WEIGH THE SITUATION WHICH HAS DEVELOPED, NOT GIVING WAY TO PASSIONS, THEN YOU WILL UNDERSTAND THAT THE SOVIET UNION CANNOT FAIL TO REJECT THE ARBITRARY DEMANDS OF THE USA. WHEN YOU CONFRONT US WITH SUCH CONDITIONS, TRY TO PUT YOURSELF IN OUR SITUATION AND THINK HOW THE USA WOULD REACT TO THESE CONDITIONS. I DO NOT DOUBT THAT IF SOMEONE HAD ATTEMPTED TO DICTATE CONDITIONS OF THIS SORT TO YOU, THE USA, YOU WOULD HAVE REJECTED SUCH AN ATTEMPT. AND WE ALSO SAY -- NO.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THAT VIOLATION OF FREEDOM OF THE USE OF INTERNATIONAL WATERS AND INTERNATIONAL AIR SPACE IS AN ACT OF AGGRESSION, PUSHING MANKIND TOWARDS THE ABYSS OF A WORLD MISSILE-NUCLEAR WAR. CONSEQUENTLY, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT CANNOT GIVE INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CAPTAINS OF SOVIET VESSELS BOUND FOR CUBA TO OBSERVE THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE AMERICAN NAVAL FORCES, BLOCKADING THAT ISLAND. OUR INSTRUCTIONS TO SOVIET MARINERS ARE STRICTLY TO OBSERVE THE GENERALLY RECOGNIZED NORMS OF NAVIGATION IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS AND NOT TO RETREAT FROM THEM BY EVEN ONE STEP. AND IF THE AMERICAN SIDE VIOLATES THESE RULES, IT MUST REALIZE WHAT SORT OF RESPONSIBILITY WILL REST ON IT IN THAT CASE. OF COURSE, WE SHALL NOT BE SIMPLY OBSERVERS OF PIRATICAL ACTIONS OF AMERICAN SHIPS ON THE HIGH SEAS. WE WILL THEN BE FORCED FOR OUR PART TO TAKE THE MEASURES WHICH WE DEEM NECESSARY.

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IN 45594 PAGE 5

AND ADEQUATE IN ORDER TO PROTECT OUR RIGHTS. FOR THIS WE

HAVE ALL THAT IS NECESSARY.

RESPECTFULLY YOURS.

/S/ N. KHRUSHCHEV
RUSK

BT

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NON-CIA TELETYPE MESSAGE

Ken 25 Oct

OCT 25 07 03 26Z

LOGS

(589)

PCA039

***** OA-21 OCTOBER 25

OO RUEICR

DE RUEHCR 12901

O 25 0649Z ZEA

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO CIA

STATE GR *365*

BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L

ACTION MOSCOW 997, OCTOBER 25, 2 A.M.

EYES ONLY

REFERENCE: EMBASSY TELEGRAM 1070

SIGNED ORIGINAL FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT TO

KHRUSHCHEV DELIVERED TO SOVIET EMBASSY 1:45 A.M.

WASHINGTON TIME OCTOBER 25. PLEASE DELIVER TO HIGHEST RANKING

SOVIET OFFICIAL IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE.

DCI

~~DDI~~

DDP

ADDP

CS/RF

OPERATIONAL IMMEDIATE

AC/CI

AD/NE

11N457011 C/SR

C/TFW

B- DDP/SIT

VMR

FILE

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CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

SECRET

IN 45701 PAGE 2

QUOTE

OCTOBER 25, 1962

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN:

I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR LETTER OF OCTOBER 24, AND I REGRET VERY MUCH THAT YOU STILL DO NOT APPEAR TO UNDERSTAND WHAT IT IS THAT HAS MOVED US IN THIS MATTER.

THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS IS CLEAR. IN AUGUST THERE WERE REPORTS OF IMPORTANT SHIPMENTS OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND TECHNICIANS FROM THE SOVIET UNION TO CUBA. IN EARLY SEPTEMBER I INDICATED VERY PLAINLY THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD REGARD ANY SHIPMENT OF OFFENSIVE WEAPONS AS PRESENTING THE GRAVEST ISSUES. AFTER THAT TIME, THIS GOVERNMENT RECEIVED THE MOST EXPLICIT ASSURANCES FROM YOUR GOVERNMENT AND ITS REPRESENTATIVES, BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY, THAT NO OFFENSIVE WEAPONS WERE BEING SENT TO CUBA. IF YOU WILL REVIEW THE STATEMENT ISSUED BY TASS IN SEPTEMBER, YOU WILL SEE HOW CLEARLY THIS ASSURANCE WAS GIVEN.

IN RELIANCE ON THESE SOLEMN ASSURANCES I URGED RESTRAINT UPON THOSE IN THIS COUNTRY WHO WERE URGING ACTION IN THIS MATTER AT THAT TIME. AND THEN I LEARNED BEYOND DOUBT WHAT YOU HAVE NOT DENIED -- NAMELY, THAT ALL THESE PUBLIC ASSURANCES WERE FALSE AND THAT YOUR MILITARY PEOPLE HAD SET OUT RECENTLY TO ESTABLISH A SET OF MISSILE BASES IN CUBA. I ASK YOU TO RECOGNIZE CLEARLY, MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT IT WAS NOT I WHO ISSUED THE FIRST CHALLENGE IN THIS CASE, AND THAT IN THE LIGHT OF THIS RECORD THESE ACTIVITIES IN CUBA REQUIRED THE RESPONSES I HAVE ANNOUNCED. I REPEAT MY REGRET THAT THESE EVENTS SHOULD CAUSE A

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DETERIORATION IN OUR RELATIONS. I HOPE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL
TAKE THE NECESSARY ACTION TO PERMIT A RESTORATION OF THE EARLIER
SITUATION.

SINCERELY YOURS,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

INQUOTE

PLEASE REPORT TIME DELIVERY.

RUSK

BT

SECRET